



# ROBERT WODROW<sup>1</sup>

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WHATEVER estimate is made of Wodrow's service to the history of Scotland, it cannot be denied that its story would have been poorer but for his diligence and industry. It is, in fact, difficult to imagine what our knowledge of the Times of Persecution would have been without his enthusiasm in gathering together many documents and personal stories. The collections he made are extraordinary even in bulk. No detailed history of the period can be attempted without much reference to his activities. The footnotes of historians—Hill Burton, Hume Brown, Lang and Hewison—are full of acknowledgments to him, and learned Societies have drawn upon him for the enrichment of their publications. It is easy to sneer at his enthusiasm for the cause which brought these papers together, and even to smile at the marvellous tales of the supernatural which some of them record, but Wodrow was a child of his age and his collections are nevertheless a priceless gift to his country's religious story.

Wodrow's childhood was passed when persecution was at its worst, and when his father's house was suffering from it. It would be a wonder if, till the day of his death, he did not bear traces of the fiery ordeal through which his country and his friends passed. Men like Patrick Walker and others of the Covenanters could not lay aside their recollections and write with an unbiased judgment. Wodrow nearly achieved the impossible, and though he could not pass over the cruelties and oppressions of the time, he yet dealt with them in as calm and judicial a fashion as was possible to one who bore some of the scars they left. It is to his credit that he is as sane as he is.

The following account is a mere outline of his varied activities.

## I. WODROW'S LIFE

Wodrow's family sprang from the neighbourhood of Eaglesham in the uplands of Renfrewshire. In the *Life* of his father, which Wodrow wrote

<sup>1</sup> Certain personal relics of Wodrow are preserved at Eastwood Church, notably the miniature from which the accompanying portrait is taken; the original MS. of his *Life* of his father; the pen with which Matthew Henry wrote part of his Commentary, and which he bequeathed to Wodrow; a snuff box with the names of Guthrie of Fenwick and Wodrow engraved on plates attached, etc.



Bacon min<sup>r</sup> at Eastwood



in 1724, he gave their descent, so far as it was known to him, from Patrick Wodrow, a popish priest who was vicar at Eaglesham at the time of the Reformation, and who then became a Protestant. Among his descendants were lawyers, merchants, and soldiers. The historian's father, James Wodrow, was born in 1637, and, like many of his relatives, adhered to the Covenanting party. He pursued his studies with considerable difficulty during the Persecution, and was licensed on February 24, 1673, by a "few suffering Presbyterian ministers who in that time of breathing used to meet in Glasgow." Among those who signed his licence was the well-known Donald Cargill, the martyr. About the end of the same year he married Margaret Hair, who was connected with the Maxwells of Pollok and the Stewarts of Pardovan. In September 1687 he began teaching some students, but his efforts were regularised by his ordination on August 21, 1688, and his formal appointment to the chair of Divinity in Glasgow University on February 24, 1692. He died on September 25, 1707.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Wodrow was born in the Trongate of Glasgow, the youngest child of his parents. He is unable to give the exact date of his birth and places it in either April or September 1679. When the event took place, his father was in hiding; and his son tells a romantic story of how he disguised himself in order to visit his wife at the time and narrowly escaped capture.<sup>2</sup> Soon after Robert's appearance the family removed to Eaglesham where his father could live in comparative safety, and the village was their home till the Revolution Settlement. It was here that the future historian's education began. His first schoolmaster appears to have been Michael Robb, afterwards minister of Kilsyth and Cumbernauld, and the first to be ordained in the West under the new conditions. On January 17, 1688, the family removed to Glasgow, and young Wodrow was sent to the Grammar School, which proved so unsatisfactory that some parents, among them James Wodrow, had to set up a private school.

Wodrow entered the University in 1691, when he was about twelve years of age, and graduated M.A. on January 18, 1697. During his divinity course, which he began in 1695, he was under the tuition of his father. He describes with pride and affection some of his father's methods. "I remember his custom," he says, "was both at the first meeting of a session in the College, after prayer, with which he began, to entertain the students with a serious pathetical discourse in English as to their souls' concerns, and religion in the general, salvation-work, and their studies; and ordinarily at dismissing his scholars, immediately before prayer, with which he still ended all his meetings, he had another discourse.

<sup>1</sup> See his son's *Life*, Edin., 1828; and Prof. Reid's *Divinity Professors, Univ. Glasgow*, 1923, pp. 171-203.

<sup>2</sup> *Life*, pp. 62-4.



In some of these I have observed him particularly affectionate and serious, and he had a way of intermixing passages concerning the lives of our eminent Christians and ministers, most appropriate to what he was upon, which were extremely moving.”<sup>1</sup> The training under such a devoted and consecrated teacher, although somewhat austere and gloomy, could not but be salutary.

The common assertion is that Wodrow acted as librarian to the University after he finished his divinity course. It is said that he was appointed on January 18, 1697,<sup>2</sup> and that he held the post till the end of 1703. The statement appears to require some modification. Years afterwards Dr David Landsborough, minister at Saltcoats, found in the Isle of Cumbrae, to which Wodrow's son, Robert, retired after resigning his charge at Eastwood, a small 8vo volume which came to be called “Wodrow's Diary.” It contained the following memorandum: “That ye Transaction between Mr John Simson, and Mr Robt Wodrow, as to ye Library, was wt ys expresse proviso, yt ye Sellary should be equally divided betwixt them. In testimony of our mutuall agrement to ys, we have subscribed wt our hands, at glasgow, the twenty and eight day of July jai. vi. nynty and eight years. J. S. R. W.”,<sup>3</sup> the initials “J. S.” being those of the famous Professor John Simson, the question of whose orthodoxy occupied the attention of the ecclesiastical courts so long. It seems difficult to reconcile the status given to Wodrow with this document: he may have acted as assistant librarian. When he laid down his charge it is recorded in January 1704 that he presented the Library with two globes and seven volumes, all in Latin.<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that his son, James, was librarian from 1750 to 1755.

After resigning his connection with the University, Wodrow was for some time resident tutor in the family of Sir John Maxwell, Bart., of Pollock, afterwards Lord Pollock of the Court of Session. He thus entered into the district which was to be his home for the rest of his life. From the first he seems to have taken with zest to natural history. He became the correspondent of several eminent in its pursuit, and began a collection to which he continued to add till his death. Writing in 1709 to the Keeper of the Ashmolean closet at Oxford he recalls the Auldhouse Burn, “where you and I were a-lithoscoping,” and continues: “My Pastoral charge does not allow me that time I once had to follow out these subterranean studies, but my inclination is just the same as when I saw you, or rather greater. . . . I have got together some store of our fossils hereabout, from our limestone, etc.” He asks for “any thing of

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Scott's *Fasti Eccles. Scot.*, II, 212.

<sup>3</sup> The Diary passed into the possession of his great-grandson, Robert. Extracts from it are given in *Analecta*, I, xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Munimenta Glas. Univ.*, III, 449.

this kind of curiosities you can spare for my collection, where I have got together some five or six hundred specimens of one thing and other relative to natural history." At his death the collection was scattered.

After his ordination at Eastwood, Wodrow's main interests were concerned with the history of the Church and the sufferings through which it had passed. He was diligent in his attendance at the General Assembly, even when he was not a member, and sent voluminous letters to his wife descriptive of its procedure and business. He was opposed to the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 and wrote publicly and privately against it. In the year it was effected he was appointed one of the Committee of his Presbytery to act with the Commission of Assembly on the best way of averting what were considered its evils. "The Union," he said, as late as 1714, "I reckon to be our great and principal burden, the fountain from which many other evils do flow. But how we are to get rid of it I do not see."<sup>1</sup> He was afraid of the Jacobite opinion in the country and the use its adherents might make of the discontent the Union aroused, but he nevertheless pronounced it "a universal grievance to the nation."<sup>2</sup>

He felt as strongly about the restoration of patronage. He had many arguments in opposition to its reinforcement, but one of the principal was that patrons would in the exercise of their right bring into the Church ministers who "must be dependent and servile, and so corrupt and despised." The accession of George I seemed a fitting opportunity to call the attention of the Sovereign to the many grievances under which Scotland laboured, particularly from patronage, and Wodrow was appointed one of the principal correspondents and advisers of the five ministers who proceeded to London to state their rights. Almost his last word on the subject was written in his *Analecta*. He held that the system was a "sensible hurt" to the Church, that "it sours people's tempers and is the occasion of breaches of the public peace and really alienates the common people, not only from the establishment in the Church, but from civil government"—an opinion amply justified by the events of subsequent years.

The Oath of Abjuration was closely connected with the agitation against patronage. By it Presbyterians were required to declare that the Sovereign should belong to the Church of England, and such an acknowledgment was naturally abhorrent to them. The movement against it was prolonged and earnest. Wodrow shared the common dislike, although he was willing to take the Oath. Even when it was modified so that Presbyterians could use it without offence to their consciences, many refused on the ground that it interfered with the prerogatives of the Church. The Government wisely ignored their

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence*, I, 573.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 599.

opposition and the feeling ultimately died down. In Wodrow's letters there are many references to the controversy.

Another matter in which Wodrow showed considerable interest, and in which he was associated with Principal Haddow of St Andrews, was the discussion of the *jus devolutum*. Through the right of presentation to vacant benefices Episcopal heritors found an irritating way of annoying the Church. They held up presentations until the time within their right to present was almost exhausted, and then presented a candidate who for some reason they knew was disqualified. When he was rejected, their right returned to them *de novo*, so that by repeating the process it was possible to keep pulpits empty for a considerable time. It was not till after Wodrow's death that a solution of the problem was found.

In the great heresy hunt after Professor James Simson Wodrow tried at first to be impartial and neutral. "His being my father's successor," he said, "makes me decline dipping into that affair." He himself had been on terms of friendship with Simson, and that also suggested no active participation in the discussion, although his correspondence is full of references to the case at all its stages. When it was finally disposed of, he wrote that in his opinion "a public teacher ought not without allowance of the Society which appointed him to bring in innovations and things that break the public peace." Simson had done so, and Wodrow agreed with the verdict against him.

Wodrow's whole correspondence shows that he followed the controversies of the day with keen interest, although it is perhaps too much to say that he was "a leader in the Church courts," even although he was "consulted occasionally on ecclesiastical matters by my Lord Ilay or his Majesty's advocate."<sup>1</sup>

## II. WODROW'S MINISTRY AT EASTWOOD

Wodrow was licensed on January 6, 1703. On August 18 of the same year it was stated that he had preached several times before the congregation at Eastwood, in the Presbytery of Renfrew, "to the satisfaction of that people," and on September 8 Lord Pollock, representing the congregation, brought a call to him before the Presbytery from the heritors and elders, with the consent of the congregation. It was found in order and sustained. The cure had been vacant since the death of the former minister, Matthew Crawford, in December 1700. On October 7 the Presbytery was approached to hasten procedure, "because of some things in the parish of Eastwood that call for speedy admission." What these things were is not stated, but they doubtless had to do with the long vacancy. The Court resolved to curtail Wodrow's trials. On

<sup>1</sup> Hill Burton : *Hist. Scot.*, VIII, 38.



October 14 they were approved, and he was ordained on October 28. The entry in the Kirk Session Records is : that the ordination took place " after sermon by Mr James Mackdonal upon Acts 20, 28, Take heed unto thy self and to the flock, etc." <sup>1</sup>

The parish, which lies to the south of Glasgow, was a rural one except for the growing villages of Thornliebank and Pollokshaws. The church had been built in 1577, and all that now remains of it is a transept which is used as a burial vault. The condition of the manse had caused considerable difficulty in the preceding ministry, and the Presbytery had declared it to be both ruinous and insufficient—"In case it be not repaired," said the Presbytery, "wee cannot but excuse Mr Matthew Crawford to remove his family to some convenient dwelling." Repairs were ultimately carried out, and consequently Wodrow entered upon what seems to have been a comfortable church and manse.<sup>2</sup>

Wodrow's ministry was uniformly successful, and no complaint appears to have been made regarding his absorption in historical pursuits. Towards the end of his service, in 1729, he writes that "our communions in the country are all crowded in the summer time, and what by work at home, and assisting my neighbours from May to September, I am generally overburdened. We have many irregularities in the celebration of that holy ordinance that cannot be yet rectified, at least not soon, especially here. I lie in the neighbourhood of the city of Glasgow, and we have confluences and multitudes. Perhaps I may have about three hundred of my own charge who are allowed to partake, and yet we will have a thousand, sometimes eleven or twelve hundred at our tables. I am obliged to preach in the fields a Sabbath or more before our Sacrament and a Sabbath after it. We must bear what we cannot help." The crowding was distasteful to preachers like Wodrow, although he acknowledges that the purposes of the ministry were being served. "Amidst our irregularities, we want not a mixture of good tokens. The people are attentive, and many of the younger sort I hope receive the love of the truth, and there is something like a spirit of prayer and wrestling in our fast days before our communions and more of it appears in our meetings for prayer in Societies." <sup>3</sup>

Evidence of Wodrow's diligence in his calling is to be found in his visitation book which survives. Besides space for the names of his

<sup>1</sup> MS. Minutes of Kirk Session.

<sup>2</sup> The Minutes of the Kirk Session in this whole matter are printed in Campbell's *Eastwood*, 1902, pp. 98-100. At a lecture on Wodrow on January 16, 1927, an ex-Provost of Pollokshaws is reported to have said that there was a tradition that the manse in which Wodrow wrote his *History* was a building still standing in Harriet Street, Pollokshaws. If so, it was three-quarters of a mile from the church. A street in Pollokshaws, formerly named Paddy Crescent, is now known as Wodrow Street.

<sup>3</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 452.

members and their families it contains a copy of the Shorter Catechism with proofs, which he evidently used in his catechising.<sup>1</sup> He tell us that "for some time before" the dispensation of the Sacrament, "I catechise my people and explain some of the principles of Christianity in that method called catechetical." The lists of members are arranged according to locality, and as changes occurred they were corrected until the record in some places has become illegible. The difficulty of deciphering it is increased because of notes in shorthand, and by crude drawings and scribbings. It had evidently fallen into the hands of Wodrow's children. The lists cover the larger part of Wodrow's ministry, and are dated 1708, 1713, and 1722.

The minutes of the Kirk Session afford little light upon Wodrow's activities. What entries there are are mainly of discipline cases and routine business. Soon after his ordination there was an addition to the number of the elders. On November 25, 1703, the Session took "into serious consideration the smallness of their number by death and removal of severalls of them to other congregations," and "made a litt" of eleven names. The first named was "The Right Honourable My Lord Pollock, one of the Senatours of the Colledge of Justice," who on December 16 is reported to be "satisfied with the nomination made by the Session, and is willing to do all the service he can."<sup>2</sup> Though an ardent supporter of Wodrow, Pollock does not appear to have been diligent in attendance at the Court. He died in 1732, and in an undated minute Wodrow reported to his Session that by his will he had left 500 merks Scots for the poor of Eastwood. This was not the first gift he had made. On June 7, 1727, the minister acquainted the Session that Lord Pollock "hath been pleased Generously to gift four handsome silver communion Cups to the session to be used at the Dispensation of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper with this inscription above his Lordships Coat of Arms DEO ET ECCLESIE PAROCHIALI DE EASTWOOD SACRAVIT DOMINUS JOHANNES MAXWELL, 1727, with a box of wainscoat for keeping them."<sup>3</sup> As might be expected these cups were highly valued, but unfortunately they were stolen by housebreakers in 1855, and never recovered.

Wodrow's death took place on March 21, 1734. The last meeting of Session at which he presided was held on October 7, 1733. It is curious that neither in the minutes of the Kirk Session nor in those of the Presbytery is there any reference to the event: it was the fashion of the times. He had suffered for some years and death must have come to him as a

<sup>1</sup> The Catechism (which was printed in 1702), with the notebook, are preserved in Glasgow University. It had been presented to Dr George Campbell, one of Wodrow's successors at Eastwood, by Miss Wodrow of Mauchline, the last descendant of the historian bearing his name, and by him sent to the University for preservation.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Minutes of Kirk Session.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

happy deliverance. He was buried beside his church, and apparently the spot was left unmarked. About the middle of last century a monument was raised over the grave by public subscription. It records that it was "Erected to the Memory of the Rev. Robert Wodrow minister of Eastwood, the faithful Historian of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Year 1660 to 1688. He died 21st March 1734 in the 55th Year of his age and 31st of his ministry. He being dead yet speaketh."

In November 1708 Wodrow had married Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Patrick Warner of Ardeer, minister of Irvine, who is notable as one of the evangelical ministers of his day. Her mother was the daughter of William Guthrie of Fenwick, author of the famous treatise, *The Christian's Great Interest*. At the time of her marriage to Wodrow she was the widow of the Rev. Ebenezer Veitch of Ayr, the son of another victim of the Persecuting Times. She had a large family by Wodrow, ten sons and six daughters, seven of whom died in their father's lifetime. She died in 1759. Three sons entered the ministry: Robert, born December 21, 1711, who succeeded his father at Eastwood in 1735 and resigned in 1757, dying in 1784; Patrick, born March 8, 1713, minister at Tarbolton from 1738 to 1793, when he died; he was satirised by Burns in "The Twa Herds," and received the degree of D.D. from St Andrews in 1784: and James, born March 21, 1730, minister, first of Dunlop, 1757-9, and afterwards of Stevenston from 1759 to 1810, when he died; he was laureated D.D. by Glasgow in 1786.<sup>1</sup>

One of Wodrow's daughters, Margaret, born April 20, 1717, became the wife of Matthew Biggar, minister of Kirkoswald. Marion, another daughter, born September 21, 1719, and died unmarried, was a writer of songs. A descendant of Wodrow was William Wodrow, minister of the Scots Church, Swallow Street, London, from 1826 to 1830, when he resigned. He was minister of Dreghorn, Ayrshire, from 1831 to 1834, and died in the latter year.<sup>2</sup> There is now no male descendant of Wodrow.

### III. WODROW'S CALLS

From the position Wodrow took in the General Assembly, as well as from the fidelity of his parish work, it is not astonishing that he received several calls after he was settled at Eastwood. Some that are commonly believed to have been addressed to him do not seem to have been presented or did not mature. In every case in which a call was presented he was opposed to the change it suggested and proceedings were dropped.

In 1712 he was called to the South Quarter of Glasgow, probably to

<sup>1</sup> List given in Wodrow's *Life of James Wodrow*, pp. 197-8. Scott's *Fasti Eccles. Scot.*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Black's *Scots Churches in England*, pp. 224-6; Scott's *Fasti*, II, 164.



the congregation now known as Blackfriars, and on January 10 "the Magistrats and toun councill" subscribed the call. When the matter came before the Presbytery, it was agreed that it should be dealt with on March 19. So eager were the Glasgow commissioners in the business that they protested against the delay. When the meeting took place, the whole eldership of Eastwood, a great many heads of families, with the concurrence of the principal heritors, the Duke of Montrose and the Earl of Eglinton, as well as Lord Pollock, appeared in support of Wodrow's declinature which was upheld by the Presbytery.<sup>1</sup> In spite of reference to the Synod and the General Assembly translation was not effected.<sup>2</sup>

A curious constitutional point was raised over this call. The Town Council of Glasgow petitioned that the Commission of Assembly "might have liberty to decide finally in transportations to them." Wodrow himself describes the debate and tells how Lord Pollock, who "jealoused the petitions might have a retrospection to my affair" and "because the Provost would not declare whether he still stood by his appeal against the decision of the Synod" in Wodrow's case, declared he would not oppose the petition if the appeal was dropped. This was done "whereupon," says Wodrow, "I took instruments that it was now fallen from and craved extracts. So this business is ended."<sup>3</sup>

The next attempt to translate Wodrow was made at the end of 1716. On December of that year the Magistrates and Town Council of Stirling, as patrons of the burgh, determined to address a call to him to become minister of the second collegiate charge of the town. The "first minister and Kirk Session" acquiesced on the 28th, and the "seven incorporate trades" and "omnagatherum" on the following day.<sup>4</sup> On January 15 the Town Council appointed representatives to present the call at the Presbytery of Renfrew next day. Wodrow was absent, and when the matter came before the Court, the business was adjourned for a month. On February 20 the call was remitted to the Commission of Assembly, who refused to sustain it. Wodrow was much disturbed over the business. Later in the year he wrote: "My aversion to so public a post, my just regard to my Lord Pollock, and affection for this people and private post, where Providence hath placed me, determined my brethren to continue

<sup>1</sup> The Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, kept by the Corporation, have suffered from fire and are only partially legible.

<sup>2</sup> On January 15, 1712, the Treasurer of Glasgow was authorised to pay the expenses, amounting to £158, 6s., of the Provost and others for "attending the last synod of Air anent the call to Mr Robert Woddrow, and in treating severall of the ministers and gentlemen there."—*Extracts Records Glasgow Town Council, 1691-1717*, p. 474.

<sup>3</sup> *Correspondence*, I, 287-8.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Minutes of the Stirling Council.



me at Eastwood.”<sup>1</sup> The call itself was subscribed by about 500 male members, and was handed down in Wodrow’s family.<sup>2</sup>

Early in the same year, 1716, another call seems to have been presented to Wodrow from the parish of Dundonald. It is dated May 18, and is signed at Chepstow by the Earl of Dundonald, who was the “undoubted patron of the Parrochin of Dundonald within the Presbetry of Aire and Synod of Aire.” Nothing came of it, however. The call itself is preserved among the Wodrow Papers in the National Scottish Library.<sup>3</sup>

In 1724 there was a proposal to address a call to him from Glasgow, but the Magistrates were against the attempt and the movement came to nothing.<sup>4</sup> They evidently remembered their experience of 1712.

In spite of the fact that Wodrow was fifty years of age, the town of Renfrew attempted to obtain his services in 1728-9. It is not astonishing that there was another candidate, John M’Dermeit, minister at Ayr, who was presented by the King. The call to him, as laid before the Presbytery, was signed by nineteen “counselors,” four or five heritors, and ten or twelve heads of families. On the other hand, the call to Wodrow was signed by twenty-two heritors and several hundred heads of families. Under the circumstances the Presbytery, on December 25, 1728, had no hesitation in setting aside the King’s presentation and approving the call to Wodrow.<sup>5</sup> The matter, however, was delayed and an appeal taken to the Synod. Wodrow indicated his unwillingness to accept the call, and at the Synod in April it was referred to the Assembly.<sup>6</sup> The other nominee appealed at the seam time, and the case was sent to the Commission of August for settlement. Apparently the Commission refused to present the call to Wodrow, and the Assembly of 1730 rejected the nomination of M’Dermeit.<sup>7</sup>

#### IV. HIS PUBLISHED WORKS

Wodrow was essentially and chiefly an investigator and compiler. Although he accumulated a vast quantity of material he did comparatively little to make the public acquainted with his results. He undertook a Life of his father from a sense of filial duty, but the volume was not published till nearly a century after its author’s death. What has otherwise seen the light of print has mainly owed its appearance to the exertions of others. The reason for this may be found in his circum-

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 281.

<sup>2</sup> *Scot. Antiquary*, VI (1892), 87-9, where the call is printed with names of signatories. It is usually affirmed that a second call came from Stirling in 1726, but the Minutes of the Town Council contain no reference to it.

<sup>3</sup> Folio 39, No. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Analecta*, III, 134.

<sup>5</sup> MS. Minutes of Presbytery.

<sup>6</sup> *Analecta*, IV, 21, 24, 39, 40, 63.

<sup>7</sup> *Correspondence*, III, 465.

stances. On one occasion he asked his father "the reason why he and other learned men of reading did not print more, and be useful that way to the world; and noticed that in the reformed churches abroad, there was very much printing, and professors published somewhat every year; he said, 'Robin, the professors abroad seem to be in one extreme, and we in the other; they print every thing, and we print little or nothing. There are two things that hinder us in Scotland from printing—pride and poverty. Pride, in that we will print nothing that is common, whereas abroad the plainest and most common things are printed and reprinted every year, but we will not appear unless we have somewhat new and surprising to the world; and poverty, we want money to print and people to buy books, and there is no sale for them when printed.'"<sup>1</sup> The son may have found the same difficulty.

In 1712 there was printed an anonymous pamphlet on the Oath of Abjuration, a controversy then agitating the public mind. It was a private letter written by Wodrow to a friend—mercifully unnamed—who had taken upon himself to publish it. Wodrow complained that the letter was but a "rude draft," and that considerable modifications in his thinking had taken place since it was written. "If it had been published at all, as certainly it's very improper ever to have seen the light," he wrote, "it had been much more seasonable before the Assembly of 1712 or at it, than now after half a year of its date." Part of the annoyance was due to the fact that "I hear it's fathered upon a truly great man of the unclear side."<sup>2</sup>

He had no such trouble with his *History*, the only work Wodrow saw through the press. It is comprised in two large folio volumes. There can be no doubt of the pains its author took in its production. He had some difficulty in undertaking the writing of it. "I never entertained any thoughts of beginning so high, or essaying anything like a complete History. The account of our Sufferings from the Restoration to the Revolution was truly too much for my share, and only undertaken with a view to set matters under a just light as to the Presbyterians' Sufferings, and not to be a complete History, even of that period. . . . Yet despairing almost to see any tolerable History of our Church, and having my spirit stirred with the thoughts that posterity would not credit the one half of what was fact, and that since the Revolution we have been so much in the wrong to ourselves and our children in not giving the world some view of what this Church underwent for religion, reformation, rights and the cause of liberty; and likewise the vile aspersions of our malignant and Jacobite enemies, who will be a dead weight on the Government, as well as this Church, if not looked after, wanted not its weight; these things

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow's *Life of James Wodrow*, pp. 170-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondence*, I, 264.

made me venture to essay a work of this nature.”<sup>1</sup> What was already done he notes in his letter to George Ridpath, but although he realises the value of the work of other writers, he is himself diffident about his own powers of doing justice to the subject.<sup>2</sup>

It is impossible to indicate the pains he took with the book. His correspondence on its behalf was widespread, and he did what he could to obtain the opinion of competent critics on the manuscript before it was sent to the printer. The General Assembly when informed of the scope of the work issued its recommendation in May 1719. Part of the credit due to an author in those times was that he must publish without hope of financial reward; it took another century before payment for literary work was considered respectable. It is satisfactory to know, however, that on April 26, 1725, Wodrow was assigned one hundred guineas from the public purse. The grant was ostensibly made in recognition of the dedication of the book to the King and Queen and the Prince and Princess of Wales, but the lateness of the award may be taken as an indication of the approbation with which the book had been received.

The *History* was bitterly attacked by the Episcopalians and the Cameronians. The former were unmeasured in their denunciations of its prejudice, inaccuracy, and partisanship. In 1723 a little work, entitled *A True and Impartial Account of the Life of the Most Reverend Father in God, Dr James Sharp*, was published with a “Preface wherein a clear Discovery is made of the malicious Falsehoods contained in some late scandalous Books and Pamphlets,” concerning that Prelate’s murder. The author, who is said to have been Andrew Simson, one of the “rabbled curates,” declares that Wodrow had been guilty of “most impudent railing Accusations, heaviest Imputations and most wicked Aspersions” against Sharp, and devotes forty-two pages in the attempt to refute him. He affirms that Wodrow carefully abstained from calling the assassination of Sharp a “murder,” but contents himself with speaking only of his “violent death” and of his “violent taking away.”

Perhaps the heaviest Episcopal indictment of the book was *The Scottish Behemoth dissected, in a Letter to Mr Robert Wodrow; concerning the Publishing of a History of the Church of Scotland; from the Revolution 1637 to the happy Restoration 1660 and from the Revolution 1688 to the year 1694. Written by a Friend. . . . Edinburgh, 1722.* The writer “found some plain Forgeries in Fact (whether by you or your Informers I shall not determine), and many Things true at the Bottom, but wholly disguised by your Way of relating them; with diverting Interludes of Nonsense and Treason in your Reflections and Observations upon the Papers you insert; yet I could not but applaude the Design . . .,” and speaks of the “forgeries and lying wonders” the book contains. The

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 309-10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 308-16.



anonymous author summed up his objections in the following propositions—Readers must take much of what is written on Wodrow's word : some facts are vouched for only by "known Traitors and Ringleaders of Rebellion or their posterity," some stories are not vouched for ; some long papers are irrelevant. The writer, who signed himself "Philanax," and was probably Alexander Bruce, advocate, proposed to publish a book on the subject but apparently the intention was not carried out, though a prospectus was issued. He died in 1734.<sup>1</sup>

The main champion of the Cameronians was Patrick Walker, and he does his best to meet any disparaging remarks or narrative of Wodrow. He accuses "historian Wodrow," as he contemptuously names him, of "gross mistakes, misrepresentations and groundless slanderous reflections on the faithful followers of the Lamb," and sets himself to answer in detail several of his statements. It is to be feared that Patrick allowed personal animosity to enter into his condemnation. Wodrow had stated that Patrick "confesses he was present at the murder of Francis Garden, one of the Earl of Airly's troop and refuses to discover his accomplices." This Patrick resented "because Mr Wodrow has transmitted my name under the notion of a murderer." He promised to vindicate his reputation fully, but he never did so, and the omission must tell against his vindication of himself. It would be impossible for Wodrow to avoid errors in detail in his many narratives, but it must be owned that Patrick does little to destroy his reputation for accuracy even although his denunciations of him extend to many pages.<sup>2</sup>

The *History* did not attract the attention it deserved, even although the General Assembly "gave a recommendation to all their members who can conveniently sign for copies" to subscribe for it. For a time it lay in a measure neglected until attention was directed towards it at the end of the century. Dibden, the bibliographer, declared that he was

<sup>1</sup> T. F. Henderson, in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v. Wodrow, says that the task of answering Wodrow was afterwards undertaken by Bishop Robert Keith in his *History of the Affairs of Church and State of Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation . . . to 1568*, Vol. I (all published), Edin., 1734. That author certainly speaks of the "Defects and Misrepresentations of former Historians," but makes no reference whatever to Wodrow, whose period he did not reach. The book was afterwards reissued by the Spottiswoode Society in 1845, and again all the notice taken of Wodrow was casually to mention his name in the Editor's Introduction. The notice of Wodrow in the *D.N.B.* is defective in other respects.

<sup>2</sup> Hay Fleming's edition of Walker: *Six Saints of the Covenant*, especially I, pp. 293-365. Another Cameronian critic, John M'Main, M.A., schoolmaster in Liberton's Wynd, Edinburgh, in his Introduction to Alexander Shield's *Life of James Renwick*, Edin., 1724, takes Wodrow to task for his remarks. He says: "Without this supplement his History contains but a very mank, churlish, unfavourable, yet unfair Account of this faithful Witness and others with him." The whole article is reprinted in *Biographia Presbyteriana*, II, Edin., 1827.



surprised that "so valuable a work" should have appeared in "so repulsive a garb (for it is most wretchedly printed)," and recommended its reproduction. Possibly the neglect it suffered was due to an impression that Wodrow could not be depended on, but much has been done to rehabilitate him in the estimate of scholars. Andrew Lang, who cannot be said to favour the Covenanters, said that for the time "our most useful authority is Wodrow. . . . He is the Calderwood of the period, very industrious but of course not unprejudiced." He describes the author as "a man void of offence, insatiably eager for knowledge, simple, moderate, laborious, and, considering the strength of his feelings, a candid as well as an industrious historian."<sup>1</sup> Hume Brown calls him "a timorously devout soul, yet curiously inquisitive regarding every novelty in speculation," and speaks of his "Athenian temper."<sup>2</sup> Various estimates are given by J. C. Johnston, the compiler of the *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant*, and there is a growing belief in his reliability. Perhaps the least favourable verdict on Wodrow and his work is that of Henry Grey Graham, who emphasises his weaknesses.<sup>3</sup> Maidment, the antiquary, who was no mean authority, says of his contributions on the Argyll Family that "they possess considerable value, and for their authenticity, Wodrow's name is a sufficient voucher."<sup>4</sup>

The most violent recent criticism came from Mark Napier, who indicated his fitness for the task by placing Eastwood in Galloway! The length of his remarks may be judged from the fact that Wodrow occupies three pages in the Index. The collection of Wodrow's papers in the National Scottish Library is described as "a voluminous and amusing medley of odd facts, of superstitions and the grossest calumnies, all seemingly of equal importance in the estimation of this vulgar glutton of coarse and canting gossip." He quotes Sir Walter Scott as speaking of "The historian Wodrow, whom Mr Fox introduced to the knowledge of the English, raising the price of his two volumes from ten shillings to two or three guineas." Much space is devoted to a criticism of "Wodrow and his army of martyrs," and Napier declares the author's "principle" is to "glorify all the worst characters of the period and to calumniate the good." The very virulence of the criticism destroys its value.<sup>5</sup>

The following is a list of Wodrow's printed writings:—

1712. The Oath of Abjuration considered, both As to the Lawfulness and Expediency of it's being taken by the Ministers of the Church of

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Scot.*, III, 311; IV, 298.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 361, 391.

<sup>3</sup> *Social Life in Scot. in the Eighteenth Cent.* (Edit. 1906), p. 347.

<sup>4</sup> *The Argyle Papers*, p. xii.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs of Dundee*, 1858-62, I, 51-120; III, 818, etc. Cf. a trenchant defence of Wodrow in Stewart's *History Vindicated in the case of the Wigtown Martyrs*, 2nd Edit., 1869.

Scotland, In a Letter to a Friend. Edinburgh, Printed in the Year MDCCXII.

Sm. 8vo, 26pp. This pamphlet was printed unknown to Wodrow, and its appearance caused him considerable annoyance as it was "such an indigested heap of things." He writes to a "Friend" under date October 2, 1712: "I must either blame you, or somebody you have communicated it to, for this odd step; for I never communicated it to any but yourself, and I can with all ingenuity declare that I had not the least suspicion, when sent to you, that the world should be troubled with it. It was a rude draft of what then straitened me as to the oath."—*Wodrow's Correspondence*, I, 263. Cf. Warrick's *Moderators of the Church of Scotland from 1690 to 1740*, p. 284. The letter was written on March 20.

1721. The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restauration to the Revolution: Collected from the Public Records, Original Papers, and Manuscripts of that Time, and other well attested Narratives. By Mr Robert Wodrow, Minister of the Gospel at Eastwood. *Nec studio nec odio*. Vol. I. Printed by James Watson, His Majesty's Printer, MDCCXXI.

Dedication to the King, 9 pp. Preface, pp. 1-13. Names of Subscribers and Contents, 11 pp. Introduction with ix appendices, pp. i-lxiii. Text, pp. 1-544. Appendices, pp. 1-211. Vol. II, 1722, Preface, etc., pp. iii-xx. Text, pp. 1-622. Appendices, pp. 1-223.

To prepare the way for the appearance of the book Wodrow issued a prospectus of the work. A copy is preserved in the National Scottish Library, and was Wodrow's own proof copy. It is much corrected and is an eight-paged folio, but perhaps defective. In addition to the above title, it declares that the book will have "an Introduction, containing the History of the Restauration of King Charles II. Collected from the Original Letters which passed 'twixt the Rev. Robert Douglas and other ministers of Edinburgh, and Archbishop Sharp, their then Commissioner at London. Together with a large Appendix to each Volume, comprising the Principal Vouchers." The Prospectus is endorsed in Wodrow's handwriting, "My Proposals," and asks that names of Subscribers should be sent to "Nicol Spence in Edinburgh," who was the Agent of the Assembly, as well as to booksellers in Glasgow, London and Dublin, and "Mr David Warner, Professor of Philosophy in the New College of Aberdeen," one of Wodrow's relatives.

When the book was published its preface contained an acknowledgment of help from "the Reverend Mr Matthew Crawford, my worthy predecessor's" History, which "he did not live to complete." Vol. I printed a list of about 700 subscribers at 2 guineas. The binding was to cost 2s. 6d. a volume more.

A second edition, in four volumes 8vo, was published in Glasgow in 1828-31 by Rev. Robert Burns, D.D. Vol. I is preceded by a leaf on which testimonies to the truth and value of the book are given, and by a "Memoir of the Author," pp. i-xviii, as well as by twelve "Original Letters of Mr Wodrow," and the original Preface. There is also an Appendix, pp. xxix-xxxii, which prints (1) The Testimonies of Sir Walter Scott, and (2) "Mr Wylie's Thoughts on the Indul-

gence and Accommodation." The Text, to which the Editor added some notes, is reproduced "word for word, nothing being either added or omitted," the original appendices being given as footnotes at the appropriate places.

1749. The History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration to the Revolution. . . . By William Crookshank, A.M., Minister of the Scots Congregation in Swallow Street, Westminster. 2 vols, 8vo. London.

Other editions : Edinburgh 1751 ; Glasgow 1787. Wodrow's *History* being considered too voluminous for popular use, the Author says, "and since the reducing such a performance into a more narrow compass was thought proper, for making the history of this period more universally known, I was prevailed with, by many of my friends, to undertake the difficult task" of compression. For William Crookshank, see Kenneth M. Black's *The Scots Churches in England*, Edin. 1906, p. 223.

1764. Truth's Victory over Error. By Mr David Dickson. Glasgow, 1764. 12mo.

As a Prefix, it has, pp. v-xxviii, "A short Account of the Life of the Rev. David Dickson," by Wodrow. It begins : "The Printer of this edition of Truth's Victory over Error, finding the Preface to the former edition unfit to stand before this, as concerning several Things perfectly extraneous and personal to the Author of it . . . he determined with himself to leave it out, and earnestly desired me to form somewhat that might stand in the place of it." The Preface has to do with the first edition of the book which was a print of a Translation of Dickson's University Lectures. They had never been published but were issued by Prof. George Sinclair in 1684 in a translation without the name of the original author. Wodrow's comments on the transaction were very severe. See Prof. H. M. B. Reid's "A Curiosity of Scots Literature," *Glasgow Herald*, Aug. 4, 1917. The edition of 1764 was reissued in 1772 and 1787 at least.

1766. William Guthrie : The Christian's Great Interest. Glasgow. 12mo.

Contains "some account of the author from Wodrow's *History*."

1828. The Genuine Declaration of William Sutherland . . . wherein his Knowledge of the Scriptures, his Courage and Behaviour towards the Persecutors . . . are plainly set forth. Paisley, 1828. 12mo.

An extract from Wodrow's *History*, 2nd edit., pp. 54-9. Sutherland was "hangman at Irvine, a man very much master of the Scriptures, and blameless and pious." A second edition was issued in the same year.

1828. Life of James Wodrow, A.M., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow from MDCXCII to MDCCVII. Written by his son Robert Wodrow, A.M., Minister of the Gospel at Eastwood. Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 245.

It begins : "When I have a design of making all the collections I can now recover, concerning the lives of persons in the Church and nation, remarkable



for piety and usefulness, the Apostolic rule of shewing first piety at home and requiting parents, seems to lead me to begin with my worthy and excellent Father." On p. 197 Wodrow gives the names of his own family, and points out that they are descended from James Wodrow, Patrick Warner, and William Guthrie, all well-known Covenanting personages. A copy has the following inscription by Principal John Lee of Edinburgh University: "The late Dr John Campbell, minister of the Tolbooth Church, requested me to correct the sheets of this book as it passed through the press. I found it a very troublesome task. Dr M'Crie wrote the Preface (or Advertisement, as it is called) with the exception of the last sentence, and I added the Appendix—Edinburgh, Nov. 1828." The Appendix covers pp. 201–245. Dr Campbell died August 30, 1828.

1829. *Private Letters now first printed from the Original MSS., MDCXCIV–MDCCXXXII.* Edinburgh. 8vo.

Contains letters from and to James Wodrow and Robert Wodrow. Not a very creditable compilation. Edited by James Maidment.

1833. *Historical Fragments relative to Scottish Affairs from 1635 to 1664.* Edinburgh. 8vo.

Edited by James Maidment. Contains, pp. 69–84, "Memorial and Letter relative to Mr Alexander Henderson addressed to Dr James Frazer by the Rev. Robert Wodrow, MDCCXXIII"—a sketch of Henderson's Life. In the Letter is given a list of Henderson's Sermons in print, seven in number, with dates of delivery. Wodrow had two MSS. of Henderson.

1834. *A Brief Explication of the Psalms.* By Rev. David Dickson. 2 vols. Glasgow.

Prefixed, pp. xvii–xxv, is a "Short Account of the Life of the Author," signed "R. W., Eastwood, Jan. 5, 1726."

1834. *Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland.* . . . The Maitland Club. Glasgow. 4to.

Vol. I, 1834, pp. xvi + 578; Vol. II, Part 1, 1845, pp. v + 379. Vol II, Part 2, 1848, pp. vi + 229. "The materials which Wodrow had collected were, considering the period in which he lived, astonishingly ample. In 1722 he mentions them as consisting of 300 MSS. and pamphlets, among them the Diaries or Histories of Row, James Melville, Davidson, John Forbes, and Archibald Simson, besides a large mass of political and literary correspondence. . . . The dates which he added at the beginning and end of each life are a curious record of the progress of his labours, and show that a portion of almost every day was devoted to the task of compilation."—Pp. x and xi.

The lives dealt with in Vol. I are: John Erskine of Dun; Mr John Spotswood; Mr John Willock; Mr John Winram; Bishop Carswell; Bishop Gordon; Mr Robert Pont; Alexander Boyd; and Archibald Gledstanes. There are appendices to each life. Vol. II contains (1) a biography of Robert Boyd;



(2) of David Weems and John Cameron. Vol. I was edited by W[illiam] J[ames] D[uncan]. No names are given as being responsible for Vol. II.

1834. The Argyle Papers, consisting of Notices Relative to the Argyle Family from the MS. Genealogical Collections of Robert Mylne. Edinburgh. 4to.

Contains, pp. 9-26, "Anecdotes of the Marquis of Argyle and some of his descendants by Rev. Robert Wodrow." Maidment, the Editor, has remarks on the Letters, pp. xii-xiii.

1834. *Analecta Scotica*: Collections illustrative of the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of Scotland. . . . Edinburgh. 2 vols, 8vo.

Both volumes contain many letters to and from Wodrow.

1835. Letters of Lord Pollock to the Rev. Robert Wodrow, 1703-1710. Edinburgh. 12mo, 23 pp.

30 copies of the *Letters* were printed. The book contains two Wodrow letters. See *The Wodrow Correspondence*, I, 319, for a note on Lord Pollock.

1837. Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club. Vol. I. Edinburgh. 8vo.

Item XXII, pp. 353-414, contains the correspondence between George Ridpath and Wodrow for the two years 1706 and 1719. Pp. 355-381 are occupied with a Life of Ridpath. The letters of 1706 refer to the Union of the Parliaments, and those of 1719 to Wodrow's *History*. Twelve letters in all, the last two being from Wodrow to Mr Secretary Johnstone and Dr Edward Calamy.

1842. Miscellany of the Spalding Club. Vol. II. Aberdeen. 4to.

Item X, pp. 147-173, is "Extracts from the Manuscript Collections of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, MDCV-MDCXVII." They are intended to "illustrate the ecclesiastical history of the north-eastern shires of Scotland," and are from documents in the National Scottish Library. They contain Letters to James VI, Protestations of the Episcopal Clergy at Aberdeen, 1694, and three Letters to James Wodrow, 1694, 1697.

1842. The Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow. Edited by the Rev. Thomas M'Crie. Edinburgh. 8vo.

Vol. I, pp. xxv + 648, 1842. Vol. II, pp. xxvii + 695, 1843. Vol. III, pp. xxiv + 522, 1843. The letters cover the period, 1709-1731. Vol. I contains a short Life of Wodrow by the Editor.

1842. *Analecta*: or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences; mostly relating to Scottish Ministers and Christians. Printed for the Maitland Club. 4to.

Vol I, pp. xxxv + 375, 1842. Vol. II, pp. 391, 1842. Vol. III, pp. 524, 1843. Vol. IV, pp. 367, 1843. Wodrow's father lamented that there was no account of "the remarkable providences and appearances in this Church." He therefore "advised me in my youth to set down what I happened to hear from good hands, and well attested, of this kind. Which advice I have, in part, followed."—*Life of James Wodrow*, p. 4. The *Analecta* deal with the period

1701-31. The Editor was Rev. Matthew Leishman. Vol. I contains a short Life of Wodrow, pp. ix-xxxvi.

1843. Sermons by the Rev. Robert Bruce. . . . Edinburgh, Printed for the Wodrow Society. 8vo.

Contains, as an Introduction, "Collections as to the Life of Mr Robert Bruce, Minister at Edinburgh," by Wodrow, pp. 3-201. "The materials which have been preserved, chiefly by Calderwood, have been put together by Wodrow in his Life of Bruce." Bruce died in 1631.

1845. Select Biographies. Edited by . . . Rev. W. R. Tweedie. Edinburgh, Printed for the Wodrow Society. 4to.

Vol. II contains *inter alia* a Life of Rev. David Dickson, pp. 5-28 by Wodrow, and additions to the Memoirs of William Guthrie, pp. 56-63, extracted from his *History of the Sufferings*.

1846. Memoirs of Veitch, Hogg, Erskine, and Carstares. Edinburgh. 12mo.

Contains the Life of Prin. W. Carstares by Wodrow. The vol. is one of the series issued by the Free Church after the Disruption.

[1867]. Sermons, Prayers, and Pulpit Addresses, by Alexander Henderson, 1638. Edited from the Original MS. by the Rev. R. Thomson Martin, Wishaw. Edinburgh. 8vo, 529 pp.

Contains, pp. xxv-xxxiii, "Memorial about Mr Alexander Henderson" by Robert Wodrow, extracted from a MS. in the Bibliotheca Birchiana in the British Museum. There are some letters of Wodrow, 1722-1723.

1890. Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections—Divines of the North-East of Scotland. Edited by the Reverend Robert Lippe. Aberdeen. 4to.

Printed for the New Spalding Club. It gives (1) A sketch of Wodrow's Life, pp. lxxv-lxxxv; (2) Thirteen biographies—Mr John Craig, Bp. David Cunningham, Bp. Peter Blackburn, Bp. Patrick Forbes, Bp. Adam Bannatyne, Mr John Durie, Bp. David Lindsay, Principal Alexander Arbethnet, Sub-Principal James Lawson, Principal Robert Howie, Principal and Bp. William Forbes, Principal Charles Ferme, and Mr William Johnstoun. The appendix, pp. 343-50, gives an index of Wodrow's Lives in Glasgow University, naming those in his handwriting.

## V. HIS MANUSCRIPTS

Some evidence of Wodrow's continuous labours can be obtained from an examination of the manuscripts he has left behind. They consist of the originals of important documents, transcripts if the originals were not available, and correspondence, both domestic and public. When we remember that he worked practically alone in acquiring such historical relics of the past, and that the age cared for none of these things, his achievement is extraordinary. The slowness of communication proved

no obstacle to his zeal. Hardly a day passed without an hour or two of concentrated work at his manuscripts. All that he himself wrote he seems to have considered valuable, and copies were kept even of his personal letters. Only by considering how much historical research into the events of Scottish history would have missed, had these manuscripts not been preserved, can we realise how much he achieved. There is hardly a writer on the period between the Reformation and the Union of the Parliaments that is not indebted to him.

Unfortunately, no effective effort was made to preserve intact what he had gathered together, and much was scattered after his death. In 1722, twelve years before he died, his collections included 50 volumes folio, 100 volumes quarto, and 30 volumes octavo, and there must have been much more added after that date. The known manuscripts are to be found in various public and semi-public libraries, and so far as known, no complete list exists of the whole.

After Wodrow's death the General Assembly came to learn that various Records belonging to the Church had been in his possession. In 1739 it was reported that negotiations on behalf of the Commission of Assembly were being conducted with Wodrow's sons, but that an agreement had not yet been reached. It was not till 1742 that the purchase was completed, the Assembly paying £30 for what it acquired. The majority of what was recovered are now preserved in the Church of Scotland Library, Edinburgh. They comprise seven folio volumes. The same Library has also the manuscript "History of the Church of Scotland, from the Earliest Dawning of the light of the Gospel after the Apostles' Time to the Year 1688. With a life of the Author," 2 vols., folio, by Rev. Matthew Crawford, Wodrow's predecessor in the charge at Eastwood. It doubtless came to its present location after passing through Wodrow's hands.

The MSS. in Glasgow University comprise 22 volumes, 8vo and 4to. Of these Volumes X-XX are in Wodrow's handwriting, and Volumes I-VI and IX are transcripts. Volumes IX, XIX, and XX are Introductions to Scots biography. The biographies number altogether 114, and are contained in Volumes I-VI and X-XVIII, with an Appendix of 4 volumes. In addition there is a volume of "Cases answered by the Society of Students of Divinity" of Wodrow's father, with an Index by Wodrow, 1729.

The collection in the Scottish National Library is the largest and most important. The catalogue is comprised in two folio volumes. They contain a vast quantity of material of great value for further investigation. Already several volumes have been printed from them.<sup>1</sup>

The New College, Edinburgh, has six volumes. One is in the hand-

<sup>1</sup> "An Analytical Catalogue of the Wodrow Collection of MSS. in the Advocates' Library" was promised by the Scottish History Society, but it was withdrawn from its list of publications.



writing of Wodrow's father. They deal mainly with University exercises: the others are copies of sermons and letters by various persons.

That there are odd volumes in other hands is obvious. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, for example, has a volume of Wodrow's sermons in his own handwriting, acquired in 1884 at a sale in Aberdeen. The time of the delivery of the discourses extends from June 28, 1712, to April 24, 1715, and they comprise sermons preached in Glasgow at various Communion services as well as in preparation and thanksgiving for them. The volume is defective as it wants pp. 1-78, the remaining part extending to pp. 79-352.

Another volume is described by a correspondent, who owned it, in *The Glasgow Herald* of September 6, 1919. It contains 17 tracts in various handwritings. One is the MS. of the sermon preached at the ordination of Wodrow's father "in the South meeting-house," Glasgow, on August 21, 1688.

## VI. THE WODROW SOCIETY

The Wodrow Society "for the publication of the Works of the Fathers and early Writers of the Reformed Church of Scotland" was instituted in May 1841, and was intended to do honour to Wodrow's memory as a historian and to carry on his work. Its promoters declared that such a society was "a felt want" at the time, but at first the project hung fire. Complaint was made that the arrangements were of too sectarian a nature and that the public had not been admitted, "the absence of the names of ministers belonging to any of the dissenting communities in the list of subscribers," being adversely commented on.<sup>1</sup> The complaint was not solitary, for it was affirmed that other organs of public opinion were "expressing dissatisfaction at the tardy movements of the Society and the mysterious secrecy in which they are involved." These defects were afterwards remedied and the Society began its course well.

By its laws the publications of the Society were to include not merely stated works, but also any literary remains of notable personages and writers, along with letters and other fugitive pieces. The membership was unlimited in number, and the annual subscription was £1. In the first Report the names of about one thousand members are given. To conserve its privileges no "public or private sale of Transactions except to members" was to be allowed, although each member could "subscribe for as many sets of the Society's works as he pleases." In 1842 the amount of subscriptions received came to over £2000 and the like amount had been expended. The cost of the first volumes ranged from £380 to £490, which included editing and transcription. After four years the number of subscribers fell off, and the Society came to an end in 1846, although its last volume was not issued till 1850.

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Presbyterian*, May 1841.



A full list of the Publications of the Society is as follows. All were "Printed for the Wodrow Society" and published in Edinburgh:—

1842. The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville, Minister of Kilrenny, in Fife, and Professor of Theology in the University of St Andrews. . . . Edited by Robert Pitcairn.

Prefatory Life, etc., pp. v-lxxviii; The Diary, 1556-1601, pp. 1-501; Continuation of the Diary, 1596-1610, pp. 503-804. Melville died in 1614. See the same volume in Bannatyne Club, edited by George R. Kinloch.

1842. The History of the Kirk of Scotland from the Year 1558 to August 1637, by John Row, Minister of Carnock: with A Continuation to July 1639, by his son, John Row, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. . . . Edited by David Laing.

Notices of Father and Son, pp. vii-lxiii; Contents, pp. lxxv-lxxix; Row's *History*, pp. 3-410; Coronis to the *History*, pp. 411-480; The Continuation, pp. 481-525; Appendix of papers, pp. 527-546; Glossary and Index, pp. 547-566.

1842. The Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, Minister of Eastwood. . . . Edited . . . by Rev. Thomas M'Crie.

Volume I contains Preface, Contents and Letters from 1709 to 1714, with three appendices; Vol. II, 1843, Letters from 1715 to 1722, with four appendices; Vol. III, 1843, Letters from 1723 to 1731, with one appendix. Numerous foot-notes, biographical, etc., are scattered throughout the volumes.

1843. Sermons by the Rev. Robert Bruce, Minister of Edinburgh, reprinted from the Original Edition of MDXC and MDXCI. With Collections for his Life by Rev. Robert Wodrow. . . . Edited by Rev. W. Cunningham, D.D.

Preface by Dr Cunningham, pp. v-xiii; Contents, etc., pp. xv-xxiii; Wodrow's Life, pp. 1-201; Sermons, pp. 202-399.

1842. The History of the Kirk of Scotland. By Mr David Calderwood, sometime Minister of Crailing. Edited by Rev. Thomas Thomson.

Vol. I has Preface, pp. v-x, etc., and History from 1514 to 1560, pp. 1-590. Vol. II, 1560-1568, pp. 579. Vol. III, with three appendices and prints of the Confession of Faith, 1560, pp. 15-37, and the First Book of Discipline, 1561, pp. 51-120. Vol. III, pp. 785, 1570-1583, with several appendices and Second Book of Discipline, pp. 529-554. Vol. IV, pp. 732, 1584-1588; several appendices. Vol. V, pp. 775, 1589-1599, with appendix. Vol. VI, pp. 827, 1600-1608. Vol. VII, pp. 638, 1609-1625. Vol. VIII, pp. 300, with General Index, pp. 171. Further biographical details concerning Calderwood, with various collations. Edited by David Laing. Life of Calderwood by Rev. Thomas Thomson, with list of works, pp. xxxvi.

1844. Select Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh. Reprinted from the Original Editions. Edited by William M. Gunn.

Vol. I, 1849, Preface, pp. v-xxxiii. Contents; Life of Rollock, Latin and English, pp. xli-lxxxvii; List of Rollock's Works, pp. lxxxix-xcv; Text, pp. 1-566. Vol. II, 1844. Preface, pp. v-xvii; Text, pp. 1-705. Vol. I has a portrait of Rollock.

1845. Select Biographies. Edited . . . chiefly from Manuscripts in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie.

Vol. I, 1845, pp. 1-518, contains Lives of John Welsh, Patrick Simson, John Livingstone, and Livingstone's Memorable Characteristics, with Letters of Lady Culross, Last Speeches of Lord Kenmure, etc. Vol. II, 1847, pp. 1-530, contains Lives of David Dickson, William Guthrie, James Fraser of Brea, John Nisbet of Hardhill, John Stevenson, Mrs Goodal, Lady Anne Elcho, etc.

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Preface, pp. v-lxiv, Lives of Scott and Forbes; notes by Scot and Wodrow, pp. lxxv-lxxxv; pp. 1-578.

1844. The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society: containing Tracts and Original Letters, chiefly relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Selected and edited by David Laing.

Vol. I—no more issued—pp. 1-615, with appendix of 16 pp. giving names of Members of the Society. Plates. The vol. contains twenty-two papers.

1846. The Works of John Knox. Collected and edited by David Laing.

Vol. I, pp. 1-564. Pp. vii-xliv contains chronological notes and a notice of the History. Various appendices. Vol. II, 1848, pp. 1-644. Other four volumes were issued in similar *format*, though not by the Wodrow Society. Vols. I and II were also issued by the Bannatyne Club.

1848. The Life of Mr Robert Blair, Minister of St Andrews, containing his Autobiography from 1593 to 1636, with Supplement to his Life, and Continuation of the History of his Times to 1680, by his son-in-law, Mr William Row, Minister of Ceres. Edited . . . by Thomas M'Crie, D.D.

Preface, pp. v-xxiv; text, pp. 1-627.

1850. A Logical Analysis of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, by Charles Ferme, Translated from the Latin by William Skae, A.M., and a Commentary on the same Epistle by Andrew Melville in the Original Latin. Edited, with a Life of Ferme, by William Lindsay Alexander, D.D.

Preface iii-iv; Life of Ferme, etc., xi-xxxvi. Ferme, pp. 1-378; Melville, pp. 379-515; errata, pp. 517-520.